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Sir George Etienne Cartier. His Life and Times. By JOHN BOYD. Toronto, The Macmillan Company, 1914.—xxi, 439 pp.

Canadian statesmen cannot hitherto be said to have been fortunate in their biographies. Until Boyd's Life of Cartier was published, scarcely one of the Fathers of Confederation or any of the men in political life in the era of the United Provinces was commemorated by an adequate or comprehensive biography. Most of the biographies had an atmosphere of provinciality about them, probably because they were written before the Dominion of Canada had arrived, and in the day of small things in Toronto, Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa. The distinguishing feature of Mr. Boyd's Life of Cartier is the complete absence of this air of provinciality, and the success with which he has fitted Cartier into the political history of Canada from the Papineau and Mackenzie rebellions of 1837 to the coming of Manitoba into Confederation in 1871.

Until Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into prominence as leader of the opposition in the House of Commons in 1891, in ability and statesmanship Cartier was the most notable contribution of the province of Quebec to political life either in the old British North-American provinces or in the Dominion. He was quite as potent a factor in bringing about Confederation as Macdonald, or Galt of the Eastern Townships, or George Brown of Ontario, or Tupper of Nova Scotia. It is an open question whether Cartier was not more than Macdonald's equal in this great work, despite the fact that chief honors and most recognition in London fell to Macdonald, who during the last twenty years of his life staged some of his political achievements and made many of his speeches with an eye quite as much to Downing Street as to the electorate from which he drew his majorities in the House of Commons.

Cartier was worthy of a first-class biography, and Mr. Boyd has accorded him his due. The life and times of the lawyer-statesman who represented Quebec in the preliminaries and negotiations for Confederation, and in framing the constitution for the new Dominion, when he stood out for federal as distinct from legislative union, will rank with some of the best biographies of English statesmen; and it may well serve as a model for biographies of Canadians, such as those of Blake and Cartwright, which remain yet to be written.

Part of Mr. Boyd's task was to write the political history of Quebec and Ontario, of the United Provinces, and of the Dominion from the rebellion of 1837 to Cartier's death in 1873. He has been as successful in this part of his work as he has been in his presentation of the

important rôle that Cartier played in the political life of the United Provinces, in the bringing about of Confederation, and in moulding the constitution of the Dominion. He has also succeeded in depicting how Cartier, who took part in the rebellion in Quebec in 1837, gradually became a Conservative, and experienced no difficulty in working in harness at Ottawa with Macdonald and Tupper.

The history of the rebellion, so far as it affected Quebec, is told clearly and with much interesting detail. It is told more fully than in any of the general histories of Canada, and with much spirit and freshness. The outbreak at Toronto is not so adequately described. It was not so serious as the rebellion in Quebec, and fewer lives were sacrificed; but it needed both Mackenzie and Papineau to bring home to Downing Street, in such a way that it could not be ignored, what the rule of the Family Compact meant for the common people and the reformers of Quebec and Ontario. Both Mackenzie and Papineau are now commemorated by statues on Parliament Hill at Ottawa—statues paid for out of the Dominion treasury; and in a political history of Canada from 1814 to 1873, Mackenzie and the troubles in Ontario that preceded the outbreak at Toronto in 1837 would seem to call for a little more attention than Mr. Boyd has bestowed on them.

There is no mention in Mr. Boyd's bibliography of Poulett Scrope's *Life of Lord Sydenham;* nor does Mr. Boyd seem to have drawn on this history of Sydenham's administration from 1839 to his death at Kingston, Ontario, in 1841. Failure to avail himself of this source of information perhaps accounts for the scant notice of the progress of the United Provinces toward a more democratic system—toward the long-desired goal of responsible government—during Sydenham's term as governor-general.

Sydenham, who followed Durham in that office, was a man of more democratic sympathies than any of the previous governor-generals with the exception of Durham. It was Durham's report rather than what Durham accomplished when he was in Canada that brought about the new era in British colonial rule and policy. Sydenham was the first governor-general of this new and better era—of the era of which the most evident example of its success and beneficence can be seen in the part that Canada and the other Dominions are taking in the great war. Sydenham's biographer asserts that when the session of the legislature closed on February 10, 1840, there had been "exhibited for the first time in Canada the working of a government majority on the same principle on which parliamentary business is conducted in the mother country." The advance made in 1839–1840 was not permanent. The

struggle for responsible government had to be renewed after Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded Sydenham as governor-general; but the administration of Sydenham is a landmark in the progress towards democracy in Canada, and Sydenham is certainly entitled to a place in the history of the United Provinces from 1840 to 1867.

The economic progress of Canada during the period covered by Cartier's active career in politics—1848 to 1873—is well traced by Mr. Boyd. In particular is this so as regards canals and railways. But in view of the fact that Cartier in 1857 was almost the first of the French-Canadians in the legislature to declare in favor of a protective tariff, and that he was of the legislature when the national policy tariffs of Cawley and Galt were enacted in 1858 and 1859, Mr. Boyd gives singularly little attention to these tariffs and none to the manufacturing industries of Ontario and Quebec, which were then beginning their development. Galt's tariff is the charter of the fiscal freedom of Canada. It is dismissed by Mr. Boyd in five lines.

In describing Cartier's attitude toward the United States—persistently an attitude of contempt for Republican institutions—the author somewhat exaggerates the eagerness of the United States at any time during Cartier's career to annex Canada. Nor is it quite fair on Mr. Boyd's part to allow it to be inferred that the free navigation of Lake Michigan was all that was conceded to Canada by the Treaty of Washington of 1871 in return for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the use, subject to tolls, of the St. Lawrence and Welland canals. Canada, in addition to the free navigation of Lake Michigan, was conceded toll-free the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal, and also the use on terms of equality with Americans of the canal and locks at St. Mary's Falls, where the Dominion was without canal and lock until as long after the development of the prairie provinces had begun as 1895. Besides these two privileges Canadian vessels were permitted, by an easing of the United States navigation laws, to carry cargoes from one American lake port to another, provided part of the transport was across land territory of the Dominion. This concession was enjoyed by Canadian lake transport companies from 1873 to 1885. It was much valued at Collingwood, Toronto, Kingston and Montreal; for the Dominion government made great efforts to secure its revival at the time of the friction over discriminatory tolls on the Welland canal that lasted from 1885 to 1893.

There is much less of hero worship in this biography of Cartier than characterizes most biographies of Canadian statesmen. The only marked lapse into adulation occurs when the author is concerned with Cartier's share in the Canadian Pacific Railway charter scandal of 1872.

Cartier, quite as much as Macdonald, was involved in the worst scandal in the history of Canada or of any other of Great Britain's oversea dominions. He drew on the Allan fund for $20,000, well knowing where the money was coming from, and knowing also that Sir Hugh Allan had not made the fund available out of disinterested goodwill for the Macdonald government or for the advancement of the principles of the Conservative party. Money in large sums has never been subscribed in Canada for the advancement of political principles, be these principles Liberal or Conservative. "The money advanced by Sir Hugh Allan," writes Mr. Boyd, "was used for campaign purposes, and no one ever intimated that a cent of it went to Cartier personally. His personal honor and integrity were unquestioned." "A grateful country," adds Mr. Boyd, "has long since forgiven Cartier, in view of the imperishable services he rendered." It will surely be a better day for Canada—a more hopeful day for democracy in the Dominion—when gross political corruption and personal honor are not so compatible as they appear to be in this estimate of Cartier's part in the scandal of 1872–1873.

EDWARD PORRITT.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Thirteenth Year of Issue. Toronto, The Annual Review Publishing Company, 1913.—766 pp.; Supp. 70 pp.

No other English-speaking country has a survey of the year on the scale of the *Canadian Annual Review.* It is of much larger proportions than the *Annual Register of Great Britain;* and there is no annual review of the United States designed on quite so generous a scale. And its proportions certainly do not detract from its value and serviceability. They are necessary to an adequate survey of the year in Canada, for two reasons. There are at most not more than three daily newspapers in the Dominion—one in Montreal, one in Toronto and the third in Winnipeg—that pretend adequately to cover the political life and economic development of the country. Moreover, in these days —certainly before the depression in Canada of 1912–1913 and the beginning of the great war—economic development was proceeding at a pace that outran the ability of even the most enterprising newspapers in the Dominion. The temporary check that has come to Canadian development as a result first of the financial stringency of 1912–1913, and next as a consequence of the European war, makes the issue of the